

SOCIAL VALUES
AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS
OF LIFE

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The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all their characteristic traits. In the Central-South Region, for example, the oldest "Chinese" area was Honan, a land-locked agricultural region. When, centuries later, the coastal areas of Kwangtung were absorbed by imperial China, the terrain and climate, the dependence on the seas and rivers for livelihood, meant that a way of life, a culture markedly different from any in North China, persisted and developed. A rough analogy may be drawn with Western Europe. Many basic attitudes and values are common to "Christian Europe" from Sicily to the Arctic, yet history and geography have made this area diverse in customs and ways of life. The diversity is less in the 1,000-mile long arc of Central-South China, partly because its cultures were never set off from one another by the nation-state boundaries that divide modern Europe.

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There are other factors which give to most of the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan into the whole of south China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agri-

culturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture was intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its units of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the land within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to Chinese of all classes, no matter how far he may wander or how Westernized his life may have become. There are ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring network of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that Communist Party workers now seek to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties. 241 181 621 181

What are the common patterns of village life from the plains of Honan to the delta of the Pearl River? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

A. Village Life

First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Honan in 1932 there was about one-half an acre of cultivated land per person; in the richer, semi-tropical province of Kwangtung there was one-fifth of an 161 511

sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: he must be made to produce more; he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and his attitudes and values must be radically changed. 668

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority. ¹⁰ "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc." ¹¹ The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulates its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new. 668
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10. Walter E. Gourelay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

11. Gourelay, op. cit., p. 28.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.¹² More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.¹³

The cadre carries on the effort to destroy traditional mores. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and, sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.¹⁴

The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to in-

12. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

13. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, Apr. 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), 1036, Apr. 28, 1955.

14. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

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Agriculture forms the most important part of the economy of Central-South China. It has been estimated that only 10 per cent of the region's production comes from industry and approximately 90 per cent from agriculture. The region ranks first in the nation's production of food grain, and large quantities of raw cotton and a number of other specialties, including tung, tea, tobacco, and ramie, are grown. It has long been known as "China's Granary." This is substantiated by the common saying: "When there is a rich harvest in Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung, and Kiangsi, the whole country will live in plenty." The orchards and fisheries of Kwangtung are well known, too, for both the quality and quantity of their products.

II. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL
POPULATION

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The limited area of arable land in relation to the vast population in the six provinces and two municipalities of Central-South China is

land and 1,621 tractors of the standard 15-horse-power capacity.¹⁷

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V. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF
CENTRAL-SOUTH
CHINA

"Agricultural production" may include all the items grown in the rural area and also the products of forestry, fishery, cattle-raising, and other industries which may be beyond the scope of the present discussion. Only those items which bear special significance in each region have been selected for the present study. Among them, food grains and raw cotton are most important. Other items which deserve our special attention in the Central-South Region are wood-oil, ramie, and tea.

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In dealing with food grains, the extent of recovery under the Communist regime and the supplies available to fulfill local consumption requirements will be surveyed more or less in detail. Concerning the production of cotton and other crops, availability for export will be discussed. Of the new measures

17. Chung-yang Cheng-fu Kuo-chia T'ung-chi-chü, 1953, Nien-tu Kung-pao 1953, [Official Statistical Report of 1953 by the National Statistical Bureau of the Central People's Government], Peking, 1953, p. 9.

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Table 2. Acreage of Food-Grain Crops in 1948*
(Unit: Million shih-mou)

Province	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Corn	Kaoliang	Millet	Sweet Potatoes	Others	Total
Honan	3.54 (0.59)	53.35 (10.50)	10.50 (1.75)	—	11.55 (1.92)	9.14 (1.53)	11.95 (1.99)	7.80 (1.30)	7.05 (1.17)	124.95 (20.53)
Hupei	17.46 (2.91)	19.00 (3.17)	10.22 (1.71)	0.12 (0.02)	3.90 (0.65)	2.17 (0.36)	2.32 (0.39)	1.89 (0.28)	8.94 (1.49)	65.82 (10.97)
Hunan	24.57 (4.09)	6.06 (1.01)	2.13 (0.36)	—	0.65 (0.11)	0.32 (0.06)	0.15 (0.03)	2.55 (0.43)	5.98 (1.16)	43.39 (7.23)
Kiangsi	26.54 (4.43)	5.90 (0.98)	2.89 (0.48)	—	0.15 (0.03)	0.11 (0.02)	0.41 (0.07)	1.55 (0.26)	4.50 (0.75)	42.05 (7.01)
Kwangtung	40.48 (6.75)	4.66 (0.78)	2.20 (0.38)	—	0.24 (0.04)	0.68 (0.01)	0.25 (0.04)	6.42 (1.07)	1.92 (0.32)	56.25 (9.38)
Kwangsi	20.28 (3.38)	5.60 (0.93)	3.20 (0.53)	—	2.22 (0.37)	0.30 (0.05)	0.27 (0.04)	1.83 (0.30)	4.59 (0.76)	38.29 (6.38)
Total	132.87 (22.15)	104.57 (15.76)	31.24 (5.21)	0.12 (0.02)	16.71 (3.12)	12.12 (2.02)	15.35 (2.56)	21.84 (3.64)	33.96 (5.66)	370.78 (61.79)

* Statistical Year-book of China 1948, pp. 73-74.

(Table 2 faces p. 654.)

(Table 2 faces p. 654.)

introduced by the Communists after "land reform," the development of water conservation projects which bears the greatest significance for the future of agricultural production will also be studied.

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A. Grain Production

Central-South China produces 27 per cent of the country's food grains, including rice, wheat, soybeans, millet, corn, kaoliang, barley, oats, tubers, and pulses. Among these crops, rice plays the most important role. In terms of quantity of production, rice constituted about two-thirds of the total grain output. In terms of acreage for these food crops, rice led by 132,87 million shih-mou (22.15 million acres) in 1946, and wheat was second with 104,57 million shih mou (17.43 million acres). The acreage of different major food-grain crops by provinces in 1946 is shown in shih-mou with acres equivalent in parentheses in Table 2.

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

In analyzing the table above, it will be seen that the rice acreage was more than one-third of the total food grains acreage in 1946; wheat was second with an acreage of 104.57 million shih-mou (17.43 million acres), constituting about 22 per cent of the region's grain-acreage planting. Other food crops were much less significance. In terms of production, Central-South China produced 26.9 and 27.6 per cent respectively of the country's grains in 1952 and 1953. The production figures of different grains are shown in shih-piculs with tons equivalent in parentheses in Table 3.

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Table 3. GRAIN PRODUCTION OF CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA
(Unit: Million)

Grains	1931-37 Average *	1947 *	1949#	1951#	1952 x	1953 y	1954 z	1955 **
Rice	496.20 (25.09)	422.96 (23.26)	374.64 (20.61)	466.64 (25.66)	592.17 (32.57)	603.94 (33.22)	613.72 (33.75)	646.24 (35.55)
Wheat	127.32 (7.01)	120.76 (6.64)	67.22 (3.69)	56.99 (3.13)	74.79 (4.11)	76.28 (4.19)	77.51 (4.26)	81.62 (4.49)
Soybeans	27.42 (1.51)	22.94 (1.26)	8.78 (0.48)	18.58 (1.04)	22.88 (1.26)	23.33 (1.28)	23.71 (1.30)	24.97 (1.37)
Tubers	156.74 (8.62)	221.28 (12.17)	118.88 (6.54)	145.64 (8.01)	80.07 (4.40)	81.66 (4.49)	82.98 (4.56)	87.38 (4.80)
Others#	163.44 (8.98)	160.16 (8.81)	113.02 (6.21)	138.14 (7.59)	109.99 (6.05)	112.17 (6.17)	113.99 (6.28)	120.03 (6.60)
Total	971.12 (53.41)	948.10 (52.14)	682.54 (37.53)	825.99 (45.43)	879.90 (48.39)	897.38 (49.35)	911.91 (50.15)	960.24 (52.81)

I:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

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(Table 3 continued)

* Chung-kuo Liang-shih Kai-k'uang [General Survey of China's Food], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan Hsin-wen-chü [Office of Information, Executive Yuan], 1947, pp. 4-5.

Chung-kuo Nung-pao [Chinese Agriculture Bulletin], Peking, Nung-yeh-pu [Ministry of Agriculture], 1952, No. 1, p. 20. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Kong, October 1-3, 1952.

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x Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 511-512. Ching-Chi-Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, Ching-chi tao0pao she, March 10, 1953, No. 309, p. 12. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, August 4, 1955; Ch'en Yün's Report to the Second Session of the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955.

y Ibid. Ch'en reported that the total Chinese grain production in 1954 amounted to 3,390 million shih-piculs, using 26.9 per cent for Central-South China's share which was 911.91 million shih-piculs. The proportion distribution between crops was based on the Chinese Economic Bulletin's report, March 10, 1953, No. 309, p. 12.

z Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, the projected grain production will be 53 per cent higher than 1954 and allocated the amount of each crop according to the ratio of 1954. (NCNA July 8, 1955)

** "Others" include millet, kaoliang, corn, barley, oats, beans, and peas.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

Table 3 indicates that, during the past five years, although great efforts have been made toward the increase of production of grains, only in 1955 did production exceed the pre-war 1931-37 average of 971 million shih-piculs (53 million tons). A comparison is made in Table 4 of the output of grain in 1949 and 1951 by individual provinces. Production is given in shih-piculs, with tons equivalent in parentheses.

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Table 4. Grain Production of Central-South China by Province*

(Units: Million shih-pieuls and tons)

Grains	Honan		Hupei		Hunan		Kiangsi		Kwangtung		Kwangsi	
	1949	1951	1949	1951	1949	1951	1949	1951	1949	1951	1949	1951
Rice. . . .	1.96 (0.11)	2.34 (0.13)	42.00 (2.31)	52.25 (2.87)	107.00 (5.89)	133.46 (7.34)	89.00 (4.90)	111.06 (6.11)	101.04 (5.56)	125.52 (6.90)	33.46 (1.85)	42.0 (2.31)
Wheat. . . .	32.26 (1.78)	27.32 (1.50)	10.56 (0.58)	9.10 (0.50)	5.06 (0.28)	4.22 (0.23)	9.50 (0.52)	8.02 (0.44)	2.92 (0.16)	2.44 (0.11)	6.92 (0.38)	5.80 (0.32)
Millet. . . .	18.82 (1.04)	23.06 (1.27)	2.08 (0.11)	2.56 (0.14)	0.20 (0.01)	0.25 (0.02)	0.84 (0.05)	1.04 (0.06)	0.20 (0.01)	0.26 (0.02)	0.42 (0.02)	0.52 (0.03)
Corn. . . .	9.86 (0.54)	12.06 (0.66)	1.75 (0.10)	2.16 (0.12)	0.88 (0.05)	1.08 (0.06)	0.18 (0.01)	0.22 (0.01)	0.36 (0.02)	0.44 (0.03)	3.52 (0.15)	4.30 (0.24)
Barley. . . .	3.50 (0.30)	6.74 (0.37)	16.64 (0.92)	19.44 (1.07)	2.30 (0.13)	2.82 (0.16)	2.56 (0.14)	3.14 (2.17)	1.28 (0.07)	1.56 (0.09)	2.18 (0.12)	2.66 (0.15)
Knoliang. . .	13.34 (0.71)	17.08 (0.94)	3.38 (0.19)	3.92 (0.22)	0.40 (0.02)	0.48 (0.03)	0.08 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)	0.12 (0.01)	0.40 (0.02)	0.48 (0.03)
Oats. . . .	0.16 (0.01)	0.20 (0.01)	0.06 (0.003)	0.06 (0.003)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Soyabans. . .	4.14 (0.23)	8.76 (0.48)	14.20 (0.08)	30.00 (0.17)	0.64 (0.04)	1.36 (0.07)	1.30 (0.07)	2.74 (0.15)	0.64 (0.04)	1.36 (0.75)	0.64 (0.04)	1.36 (0.75)
Broadbeans. .	0.14 (0.01)	0.18 (0.01)	5.40 (0.30)	6.64 (0.37)	4.42 (0.24)	5.42 (0.30)	1.96 (0.11)	1.42 (0.13)	0.38 (0.02)	0.48 (0.03)	0.98 (0.05)	1.20 (0.07)
Field Peas. .	2.16 (0.12)	3.06 (0.17)	5.04 (0.28)	6.18 (0.34)	1.52 (0.07)	1.86 (0.10)	1.00 (0.06)	1.24 (0.07)	0.50 (0.03)	0.62 (0.04)	2.02 (0.11)	2.48 (0.14)
Sweet Potatoes	31.35 (1.72)	36.42 (2.11)	10.66 (0.59)	13.08 (0.72)	14.82 (1.04)	23.06 (1.27)	16.62 (0.91)	20.76 (1.12)	31.38 (1.73)	38.42 (2.11)	10.04 (0.55)	12.30 (0.68)
Total	119.7	139.0	111.8	145.4	141.2	174.0	123.0	149.3	138.8	171.2	60.8	73.8
Percentage of Increase		16.1		30.1		23.2		21.4		45.0		21.4

* Chinese Agriculture Bulletin, Peking, 1952, No. 1, p. 20; Tu-hung Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1952; Hsin-hua yüeh-pao / New China Monthly, Peking, Vol. II, Nos. 4-6, 1950, pp. 1336-37; and Yu-pao Shou-t'ao / Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang jih-pao-she, 1950, pp. 582, 583, 601.

(Table 4 faces p. 659.)

Table 4 contains the most recently available data for grain production by provinces in Central-South China. In 1951, nearly all of the six provinces showed increases over those of 1949, ranging from 16.1 per cent in Honan to 45.0 per cent in Kwangtung. In terms of total output, Hunan led by 174.02 million shih-tan in 1951; Kwangtung was second with 171.22 million shih-tan; Kiangsi, Hupeh, and Honan followed, producing 149.34, 145.40, and 139.04 million shih-tan, respectively, and Kwangsi lagged behind with only 73.78 million shih-tan.

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B. The Adequacy of Food Supply

The most important problem in connection with Central-South China's production is the determination of the adequacy of supply relative to the local demand. In order to approach the problem more logically, the following procedure was established: The gross production of different grains of 1953 was used as the basis for calculation. From the gross amounts of the unprocessed grains, provision for seeds, fodder, and waste were allowed and deducted. The percentage allowed for milling of different grains vary according to the nature of the products as well as the eating habits of the population. After reducing all the unprocessed grains to milled products available for human consumption, for convenience in calculation it is necessary to convert all grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents."

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Conservation Plan of the Yellow River,"
was drafted and presented to the Second
Session of the National People's Congress by
Teng Tzu-hui, Vice-premier of the People's
Republic of China, on July 18, 1955.³⁵ The
most important work of the plan within the
Central-South Region is the construction of
the giant San-men-hsia [Gorge of the Three
Gates] Reservoir in Shan-hsien, Honan Province,
a project which includes water detention,
irrigation, and power. The construction of
this reservoir, according to the plan, will
begin in 1957 and be completed in 1964. A
Communist source reported that the total area
of the reservoir will exceed 2,350 kilometers,
and thus will be larger than T'ai Lake.

Beside the above-mentioned projects,
local governments have constructed many
small irrigation works with the help of the
peasants. They followed the traditional pattern,
"small in scale but large in number," and
included ponds, ditches, and wells. All these
measures can help, directly or indirectly, the
improvement of agricultural production.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The fundamental defects of agricultural

35. China Daily News, New York, July
29, 1955.

production in Central-South China after "land reform" are the small size of the average farm and the inefficiency of its cultivation. In the pre-Communist days, the most efficient farmers were usually "rich peasants" and some of the "landlords." After "land reform" these people were virtually eliminated. The numerous poor people in the rural communities who were not professional farmers, such as members of the families of "revolutionary martyrs" of the liberation army and the unemployed, were usually allotted a piece of land. On account of their inexperience in farm work as well as lack of capital with which to buy farm tools, the majority of them could not efficiently cultivate their lands, and their failure became one of the important factors which hinder the increase in agricultural production. The next step, which the Chinese Communists copied from the Soviets, is "collectivization" of farms. This drastic change hinders the efficiency of the peasants, for it is contradictory to the traditional pattern of the Chinese farm, and will be met by strong opposition. The announcement of a temporary halt to the co-operative movement in 1953 was probably due to peasant opposition. There is a question whether this basic weakness will be remedied in the years to come.

After "land reform," the burden of the peasants was actually increased instead of lightened. In the case of the grain-tax collection, although its provisions were concealed, the amount the farmers paid was

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